

ion that the United States was not taken by surprise if war broke out in the Pacific. W Board,\* of which "C" was a member, authorized a special mission involving Tricycle. Popov, Tricycle, had been accepted by the Germans as C. Masterman would call "a leading and highly placed agent in England." [65] Such was the Germans' trust in him, indeed, that he was the head of the German service in New York, Major von der Osten was knocked down and killed by a taxi while crossing Times Square. Popov's German employers decided to send him to the United States as von der Osten's successor. Since Popov was greatly valued by the British, the case went up to W Board, which decided that, as the XX-Committee controlled other important German agents in the United Kingdom, Popov's presence in the United States at this tense and critical time might have great advantages. W Board agreed to let Popov go to New York, his control being transferred from Masterman to Stephenson.

The wisdom of the W Board's action was soon proved, for while Popov was in London between June 26 and August 10, Popov's German controller sent him a questionnaire to which Popov was to supply answers while in the United States. Part of this questionnaire was prepared by the Japanese intelligence service, for whom the Germans acted in areas where their allies found it difficult to operate. Such an area was Pearl Harbor. The questionnaire was concealed under several microdots in documents carried on Popov's person. As important as the documents themselves were the reasons underlying the Japanese request that the Germans make a reconnaissance of the great U.S. naval base in the Pacific.

On November 11, 1940, British carrier aircraft had made a surprise attack on the Italian fleet at Taranto, using specially designed torpedoes to pass under the Italian antitorpedo nets and detonate beneath the keels of the target ships. Only a small force of Swordfish torpedo carriers were available, but in the attack three of the five Italian battleships were sunk. As a consequence the Royal Navy held supremacy in the Mediterranean. The attack marked the point at which the aircraft carrier and its strike planes became the dominant weapon of naval warfare. For that reason the Japanese displayed great

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\*Recall that the "W" Board consisted of "C," Guy Liddell, chief of counterespionage in the Security Service, and the three service directors of intelligence. Its purpose was to authorize dissemination of a sensitive nature to be passed to the enemy through the double agents of the XX-Committee.

interest in the operation. Accordingly they asked German intelligence to obtain a full report from the Italian navy on the operation. Their interest indicated that the Japanese were contemplating similar action at Pearl Harbor. The questionnaire read:

*Hawaii*—Ammunition dumps and mine depots

- 1 Details about naval ammunition and mine depot on the Isle of Kure (Pearl Harbor). If possible sketch.
- 2 Naval ammunition depot Lualuelei. Exact position? Is there a railway line (junction)?
- 3 The total ammunition reserve of the army is supposed to be in the rock of the Crater Aliamanu. Position?
- 4 Is the Crater Punchbowl (Honolulu) being used as ammunition dump? If not, are there other military works?

*Aerodromes*

- 1 *Aerodrome Lukefield*.—Details (sketch if possible) regarding the situation of the hangars (number?), workshops, bomb depots, and petrol depots. Are there underground petrol installations?—Exact position of the seaplane station? Occupation?
- 2 *Naval air arm strong point Kaneohe*.—Exact report regarding position, number of hangars, depots, and workshops (sketch). Occupation?
- 3 *Army aerodromes Wickham Field and Wheeler Field*.—Exact position? Reports regarding number of hangars, depots and workshops. Underground installations? (Sketch.)
- 4 *Rodger's Airport*. In case of war, will this place be taken over by the army or the navy? What preparations have been made? Number of hangars? Are there landing possibilities for seaplanes?
- 5 *Airport of the Panamerican Airways*.—Exact position? (If possible sketch.) Is this airport possibly identical with Rodger's Airport or a part thereof? (A wireless station of the Panamerican Airways is on the Peninsula Mohapuu.)

*Naval Strong Point Pearl Harbor*

- 1 Exact details and sketch about the situation of the state wharf, of the pier installations, workshops, petrol installations, situations of dry dock No. 1 and of the new dry dock which is being built.
- 2 Details about the submarine station (plan of situation). What land installations are in existence?
- 3 Where is the station for mine search formations [Minensuchverbände]? How far has the dredger work progressed at the entrance and in the east and southeast lock? Depths of water?
- 4 Number of anchorages [Liegeplätze]?
- 5 Is there a floating dock in Pearl Harbor or is the transfer of such a dock to this place intended?

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Masterman, chairman of the XX-Committee, concluded from the document:

It is noticeable that, whereas all the other questions (in the entire document) are more or less general or statistical (e.g., "Reports regarding U.S.A. strong points of all descriptions, especially in Florida"; "How much is the monthly production of bombers, fighting planes, training places, civilian aeroplanes?"), those connected with Hawaii are specialised and detailed (e.g., "List of named aerodromes, if possible with sketches, and the situations of hangars, workshops, bomb depots, and petrol depots are demanded"). [66]

Masterman added: "It is therefore surely a fair deduction that the questionnaire indicated very clearly that in the event of the United States being at war, Pearl Harbor would be the first point to be attacked, and that plans for this attack had reached an advanced state by August 1941." However, "Obviously it was for the Americans to make their appreciation and to draw their deductions from the questionnaire rather than for us to do so." [67]

When Stephenson read the questionnaire he found the German interest in Pearl Harbor "striking and significant," and, having seen Magic, which showed plainly that the German and Japanese intelligence services were working hand in glove, Stephenson was to state, "I had no doubt that Pearl Harbor was a target and perhaps the target."

Popov left for the United States by Pan-American Clipper on August 10 and was met in Bermuda by John Pepper, one of Stephenson's assistants. Pepper then took Popov on to New York to meet the director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover. But if Masterman thought the questionnaire "startling," the suspicious Hoover displayed little interest, and the document was not circulated to the Interdepartmental Committee on Intelligence and Security even for information purposes.

To the contrary, Hoover became increasingly hostile to Popov when FBI agents watching Popov uncovered evidence that he was committing offenses under the Mann Act, which provided punishment for those who transported women across a state line for purposes defined by the act as being immoral. Popov left the United States with much of his mission a failure and with much explaining to do to his German controller in Lisbon. Indeed, it was not clear whether Popov was "blown" with the Germans.

Meanwhile, "C" had personally taken a further curious step. In